MOKO

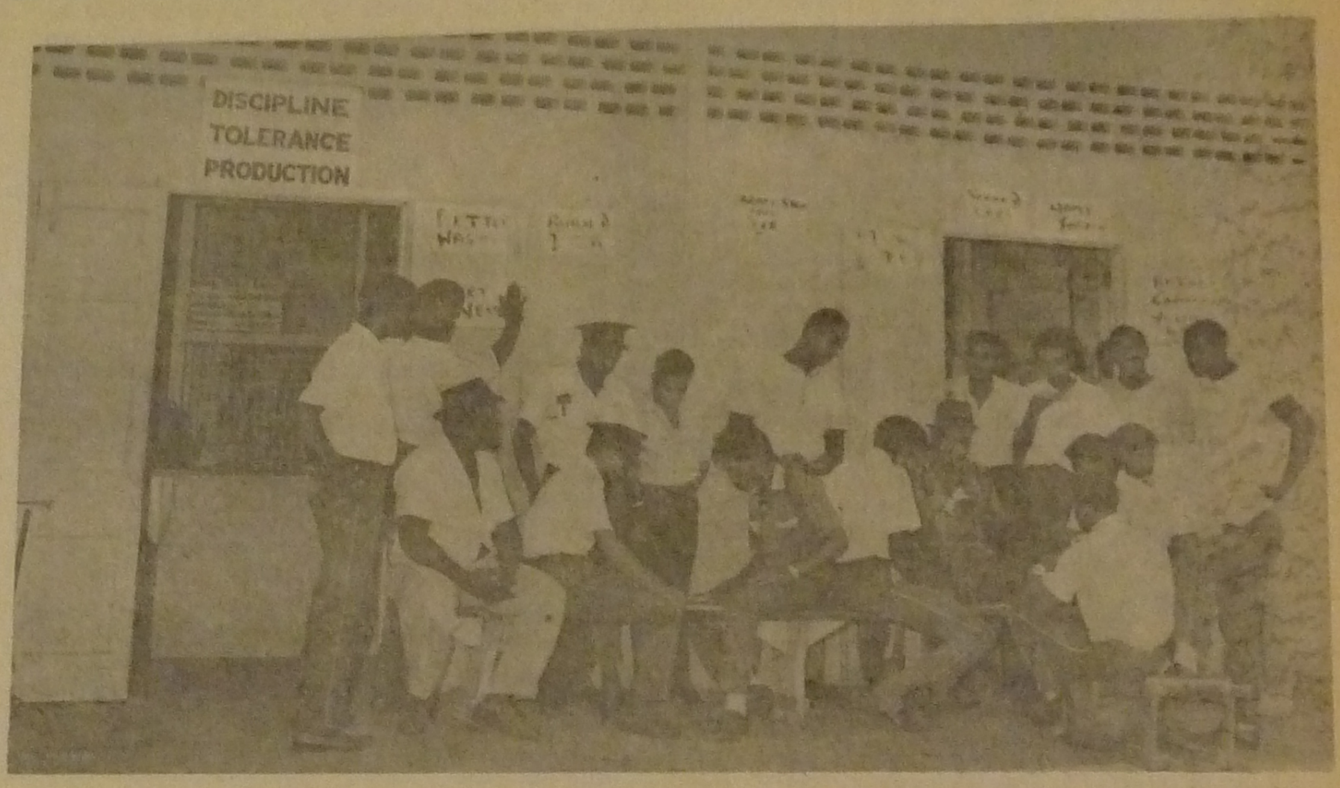
A Serious Review

No. 13
Price 10c

The Bus Workers Strike

LABOUR MUST SHOW THE WAY

A crisis is upon the nation. Workers in the bus service acting independently of their Union leadership and in direct violation to the law of the land – the ISA – have gone on strike. The leadership of the Transport and Industrial Workers Union has made it clear that they are continuing the struggle until victory is obtained. All the Militant unions are backing the Bus workers and are prepared to take positive action to demonstrate their support. Their one cry is, the ISA must go. On the opposite side of the workers are the management of the bus service, the government, the business Community, the daily newspapers and a number of union leaders of known reputation. The situation is not only critical, but potentially explosive. The present labour crisis could create a general social and political crisis 1000 times more dangerous than 1937-'38. We must be prepared. We have to ask : what do we know and what must we do?



THE FACTS

The struggle of the Bus workers began in 1962 when TIWU first entered the industry. But it was as late as 1964 that the real bitter and militant struggle of the bus service was still privately owned and operated the bus workers went on a 56 day strike for higher wages and better working conditions. In response to demands made by the union and other sections of the population during the strike for government take-over of the bus service, the government decided to nationalize the service. As a contribution to nationalization, the union gave up its demands and accepted instead an 8% increase in wages effective from January 1965. The government also guaranteed the union a 6% increase in wages effective from January 1968. However, in January 1968 the bus workers got no increase as promised. It was not until Dec. 1968 that the 6% increase was given and made retroactive to Jan. 1968.

However, in November 1967, the union began negotiations with the corporation for a new agreement, but all the Corporation was prepared to give was the same 6% guaranteed by the government since 1964. The Union refused and the Corporation brought the matter before the industrial court. The industrial Court in handing down its judgement on March 26th gave the impression that it has awarded an 18% increase to the workers over the three year period 1968-1970. This is not so. In fact the Court has given the workers only a 12% increase over the two year period 1969-1970; for the other 6% increase was guaranteed by government back in 1964. The men in the industrial court not only misled the public, not only obtained the support of the daily papers in propagandising their false award but did all these things deliberately since they knew that the 6% increase for 1968 was decided upon before the Court even existed. No gentlemen we have had enough of this tomfoolery, enough of this bamboozling, enough of this pussyfooting. To compound their folly, the industrial court has awarded the wage increases based on the 1965 wages of the bus workers. The bus workers are saying No and they are quite right.

More than that, the bus drivers, carry a greater social responsibility than almost any other drivers, yet they are among the lowest paid drivers. For example the bus drivers are paid less than drivers at T&TEC, the Telephone Company and most private companies. Whereas the driver at T&TEC gets $1.44 per hr. and at Telephones $1.47 per hr, a bus driver gets $1.06 per hr. Why?

THE ISA

The agitation of the militant trade Unions for the repeal of the ISA coupled with the present strike by the bus workers immediately brings the fundamental question on the ISA into the open. Now all would have to stand and be counted. You are either for or against. No hedging; no ifs' and buts'.

The ISA is without a shadow of a doubt a piece of the worse anti-labour legislation in the history of the labour movement. As Mrs. I. Contaste in a letter to the Evening News of April 15th says : the industrial Court is "a Court which in reality is the economic executive of government. The primary function of this Court is to impose a wage freeze on workers of this country for which the government would appear to be devoid of blame." I would go further to say that the ISA was meant to destroy the militancy of the working-class, to band the working class into a subservient tool of not just the government, but the ruling party, and more; to break the backs of the militant trade union leaders.

It is necessary to recall that the ISA was passed when strikes were on the decrease in the country and when the sugar workers were calling for the OWTU to lead them in their struggle against the foreign capitalist monster which controls sugar refining in this country. If the government was on the side of the workers of this country it would have welcomed the unity of labour and particularly the unity of labour in sugar and oil. It is clear that government is against the working class. The working class must therefore place its class

(cont'd on p3)

WHO LIE ?

DR WILLIAMS - 1960

"Industiral Democracy is based on the right of workers to withhold their labour by way of strike, even though the community is thrown into turmoil. Strikes inevitably involve public inconveniences. It is the effective and in fact often the only way of bringing the workers' case to the attention of the public and winning public support and sympathy.

I have been through so many strikes, abroad, many leading directly to a transport crisis, that I for one was determined once basic essential services were maintained and until a total shut down was really threatened, that I would sanction no step whatsoever which savoured of strike breaking."

DR WILLIAMS - 1963

"Each party would pledge itself to the promotion, maintenance, and above all, enforcement of proper and civilised bargaining.

"This is to stop all the idiots all over the place who say that Government must step in to interfere in the ralations between employer and employee or a government must pass laws to ban strikes."

DR WILLIAMS - 1965

"In the past five years 1960 to 1964 there were 230 strikes which involved 74,547 workers and the loss of 803,899 man days.....

Anything therefore to establish order amid this disorder, to substitute reason for passion and judicial determination for the anger of the workers, however legitimate is a net gain for the workers themselves.....

Instead of fighting for their rights by a strike, they argue for their rights in a Court. And the law quite properly prescribes penalties not only for unauthorised strikes, or for a violation of the procedure concerning strikes, it also imposes penalties on persons supporting or promoting or financing a strike contrary to the provisions of the Bill."

(These excerpts are taken from The Vanguard, of Feb. 8, & April 19 1969).

STOKELY ON BLACK POWER

This second article on Black Power in MOKO is an exposition of excerpts taken from two addresses by Stokely Carmichael, one being his address to the OLAS conference in Cuba in 1967. Here is Stokely at his best.

OUR STRUGGLE AND DESTINY

We have to understand around the world today there are two things that the coloured people of the world are going to have to fight Number one is the world-wide white supremacy, and number two is the world-wide international capitalism, and there can be no choice. I don't think it is time for words, it is time out for words. The white man has spoken and we have listened. We have obeyed his rules. It is time for us to set our own rules and play the games as we see fit. There can be no more talk. WE HAVE GOT TO MOVE ON TO OUR LIBERATION.

The struggle we are engaged in is international. Our people are a colony within the United States; you are colonies outside the U. S.

Black Power means that we see ourselves as part of the Third World that we see our struggle as closely the world. We MUST HOOK-UP WITH THESE STRUGGLES.

WHAT IS BLACK POWER

Black Power is more than a slogan; it is a way of looking at our problems and the beginning of a solution to them. It attacks racism and exploitation, the horns of the bull that seek to gore us.

The struggle for Black Power is the struggle to free these Colonies from external Domination (Black Colonies outside the U.S. and the Black Colony inside). But we do not seek to create communities where in place of white rulers black rulers control the lives of black masses and where black money goes into a few black pockets; we want to see it go into the Communal pocket. The society we seek to build among black people is not an oppressive capitalist society - for capitalism by its very nature cannot create structures free from exploitation. We are fighting for the redistribution of wealth and for the end of private property inside the United States. (We are fighting for Communal property where the whole community be it city, town or village will own co-operatively the whole property).

(cont'd on p2)

Read about ....

Carifta

The Novels of V. S. Naipaul and E. Lovelace in

NEW WORLD QUARTERLY, Vol IV, No. 4,

$1.25 WI

P.O. Box 113, Port-of-Spain or at Bookstores

THE NEW STAGE

by Dr. James Millette

The aftermath of any demonstration, no matter how successful, begs time for serious and sober reflection. The demonstration held by the National Joint Action Committee in the streets of Port of Spain on Saturday, April 12, is no exception. After the marching inevitably comes the moment of truth: what next? That is often the fundamental question. There is no greater reproach than to look around and see the world still the same with the same shibboleths, the same old prejudices, the self-same injustices, the familiar irrationalities. Worse yet it is not to know what to do about them.

In this respect the demonstration of April runs the risk of being like many other demonstrations. Since April 12, not much if anything has changed. And yet we must be careful in our judgement. For the demonstration is to be seen not as isolated incident but as one of a chain of events which have totally altered the mood of our society. In any case to say that nothing has changed since April 12, is not to say that nothing will change. But change will come only if people understand why they do what they do it for.

Most demonstrations are protests. Specifically the demonstration of April 12 was a protest against the unbearably barren and degrading conditions of the lives of the majority of black people in this society. Such a statement is bound to offend many ears. There are many who will talk about racism, and no doubt if they are stupid enough they will talk of black fascism. Before they do they must reflect on the fact that blackness in this society is still merely another name for underprivilege. When we talk of unemployment we are speaking of blackpeople without work. When we speak of hunger and thirst we are speaking of black people who are without food and drink. We talk of bad housing or of no housing at all and we talk of black people. We talk of the medically deprived, of the socially outcast, of the beggars, of the prisoners, of the delinquents and we are talking of black people and the material conditions in which they live. We talk of retrenchment in oil and it is blacks we are talking about; of seasonal unemployment in sugar and it's black people we mean. And when we talk of the political system we talk of a system of corruption and manipulation characterised by the betrayal of black by black.

So one of the things we have to do is to legitimise the discussion of blackness not merely because we want to, but because it is important that we do. It is not the only important thing but it is one of the important things.

It is a very gratifying reflection then to realise that the demonstration which set out to take this discussion into the streets avoided every pitfall into which its critics were hoping to see it tumble. Black people demonstrating about blackness could too easily be caricatured in the public mind. Images of carnival, mass, bacchanal and comess could too easily cloud the real purpose. One thing the demonstration did was to destroy that possibility without mercy.

The decorum and the discipline of the entire proceedings was matched only by the determination of the participants to maintain an unbending dignity at all times. The demonstration was not a masquerade and never threatened to be one. Nor was it a riot which would have been equally disastrous. It was what it said it was going to be - a demonstration by people who are fed up with being at the fag end of discrimination, injustice, poverty and political manipulation. And it was the more effective for that.

On its positive side, too, the demonstration contributed to the development of a new legitimacy in the society of Trinidad and Tobago and the West Indies. Among the impositions placed on black people so far is that they have had to live in their societies by ideas imposed on them by others. They are now beginning to live by their own ideas. This has, gradually and imperceptibly, been one of the most significant developments in the West Indies since the Rodney crisis erupted last October. In the months since then we have witnessed a dramatic assertiveness on the part of the underprivileged. This has taken many forms, and has involved several characteristically revolutionary developments.

One of these has been the mushrooming of independent madia of communication by which people of radical and dissenting outlook have sought to communicate with the society. MOKO in Trinidad, ABENG in Jamaica, the ANTIGUA STAR, a revived NEW WORLD enterprise in Guyana, BONGO–MAN, EMBRYO, YOUTH FORCES FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION, all have had this end in view. THE STAFF REVIEW issued by the Petroleum Staff Association at Texaco is a similar bold new venture demonstrating the same assertive, legitimate determination to shatter the confines of the past and move onto a new stage.

But perhaps the most revolutionary development is quite simply that the underprivileged now feel that right is on their side. And they can hardly be wrong. This foolish frivolity that we know as the West Indies cannot much longer endure. It is bound to change and the inevitability of change is working like a tonic on the depressed and the disheartened.

Not surprisingly in these last days even the powerstructure works mightily to accomplish its own liquidation. Faced with perdition, it acts out its appointed role by intensifying the contradictions in the society. Politically, there is now no pretence at seeking the public welfare. As we have indicated in another column wedding feasts hold priority over agricultural fairs. Orange Grove and the National Oil Company stand out as mocking condemnationsof the attempt to revolutionise the economy by the means of non-revolutionary politics. The ISA, an embarrassment to the government every since its nakedly political objectives were achieved, provides a rich field for ever more contradictions. The government, self-sworn to uphold and maintain this pernicious piece of legislation, now appears to be in great haste to amend it.

The business community, that ever active partner of an accommodating government, undermines the free enterprise ideology by which it says it lives by screaming for proteciton when the Jessels of this world come to give it their due.

Finally, the whole conservative, reactionary, unpatriotic host stands aghast at the folly of the British in revealing so nakedly in Anguilla the brutal nature of the relationship between themselves and us. The notion that only men of mischief and of ill-intent spoke of imperialism, that only fools still believed that the developed world is exploiting us shamelessly and that only idiots could believe that foreign capital was not an unmixed blessing is dying a deservedly swift and quiet death.

The shoe is now on the other foot. Wear it.

CHESS

BY "OTTO"

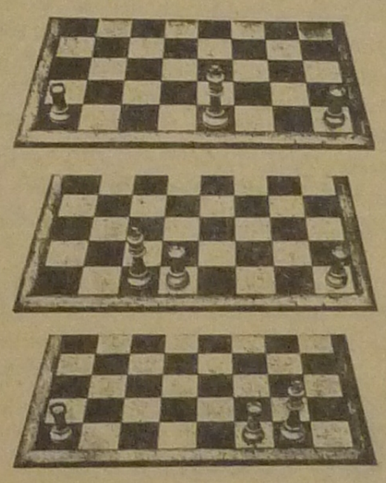
5. We are still in the preliminary phase. Preparation takes time. So far we have had four columns. This is the fifth and we have started to number them in order to keep track. Bit by bit we get better and better organized. We hope to tidy up a few more loose ends before moving on to much more serious business.

One of the loose ends to be dealt with takes up very briefly once more the way in which the king moves. In our last column we spoke of the value and of the weakness of the king. Precisely because he is weak he has to take extraordinary measures to protect himself. In fact chess permits him a very special move for this purpose. It is called castling and it's purpose is simply to get the king away from the centre of the board (a position of some danger) to the side of it (a position of greater safety).

Castling is done when the intervening squares between the king and either rook are not occupied. The move is made by first moving the king two squares to one side and then placing the rook nearer which he has moved immediately on the other side of him. Both king and rook are therefore involved in the move.

Castling is impossible if the king or the rook has already been moved; if the king is in check; if, in castling, the king has to pass through a square attacked by an enemy piece thereby, even though temporarily, going into check; if the king will land on a square attacked by an enemy piece; or if, as already indicated, another piece occupies a square between king and rook.

Now there is another aspect of the game which we must discuss. We have to know the value of the pieces. This is necessary because captures in chess are always optional. Every capture or exchange is an act of will. Neither yourself nor your opponent is bound to take or capture as, say, in draughts. But this only increases the difficulty. Each capture has to be carefully calculated. The long run effect has to be gauged and understood. Considerations of value, of strategy and



position are calculations of higher order and in the best class of chess they can even take precedence over considerations of value. But we must know what our pieces are worth. That is where we have to begin.

In determining the relative value of the pieces some writers have tried to be extremely scientific and exact. Thus Staunton, one of the earliest and best English players, writing in 1847, offered the view that the pawn was worth 1 unit, the knight 3.05 units, the bishop 3,50 units, the rook 5.48 units and the queen 9.94 units. Since then this view has been somewhat simplified and the notion current today is that the pawn rates as 1 unit, the knight and the bishop rates 3 units respectively, the rook rates 5 units and the queen rates 9 units. The king is not given a rating since, in the context of the game, he is invaluable. When the king is lost the game is lost.

It makes no sense then, except in terms of overriding considerations of position and strategy, to exchange a rook for two pawns or a queen for a knight. When you deliberately make such an exchange you are said to be "sacrificing". The main requirement then is that you should know what you are doing. There is nothing more embarrassing than the "sacrifice" that fails. If you are "sacrificing" you have to know what you are sacrificing for. Only a fool does otherwise. It is as simple as that.

STOKELY

(cont'd from p1)

CHRIST AND US

They say wherever we go we start trouble. I used to read the bible when I was small, and I learned that the most revolutionary man who walked the face of the earth was Jesus Christ. Now he was revolutionary, but the only trouble with religion was that they made him a Christian. Jesus Christ said "I have come to bring the sword, not the shield, I have come to turn mother against daughter, father against son, nation against nation, for where there is injustice there shall be no peace" and we tell the white man in America and we move in to join hands with our black brothers around the Third World, and all of us together will tell the white man "Where there is injustice there is going to be no peace". If he wants peace, tell him to give us justice, for we are going to take it. We have to take it because the white man is incapable of condemning himself. If the white man condemned himself then he would have to commit suicide for what he has done to the world. And because he is incapable of condemning himself, then we must come together as black people around the world and organise ourselves to take care of the business at hand.

We are not talking about peace, we are talking about liberation.

MOKO

AGRICULTURE YEAR

Last yeat, The United Nations, acting u
year Human Rights year. What a joke it w
ments on Human Rights in the recent histor
This year has been declared Agriculture
to be a big joke? Like the government, M
for the farmer. This is why MOKOJUMB
between the smooth television rhetoric of
confronts the small farmer in this country

"AGRICULTURE YEAR '69" was
Eric Williams in a nation wide television-radi
In his address to the people of Trinida
pains to explain the reasons which had mo
entous decision. It was envisaged that t
would have far-reaching effects and wou
culture in this country. To this end, AGR
of the Ministry of Agriculture, Lands an
ment's forces could be mobilized to ensure

In part, the Prime Minister reminded u
ment's rebuttal to the statements made by
ference on Unemployment on the impos
culture by forcibly and dramatically brin
(MOKO advises its readers to read Mr.
Government in the Express of Wednesday

In agreeing with the labour leader,
high priority which Government attach
Year plan. He quoted the relevant stati
future of Agriculture in this country and
play in the national economy. He noted
given a very large allocation of money
period. He compared this favourably w
earlier Five-Year Development Plan, wh
firts plan and over $49 million in the sec

The main objectives of this campaign
tual reduction of the country's food b
Trinidad abd Tobago cashing in on the

A comprehensive programme aimed
and output and aimed also at educating
tion for achieving significant increases
agricultural sector has been planned and
by the Minister of Agriculture, Lands
gramme has been prepared and will be
Lands and Fisheries and the National
powered committee, named by Gover
CULTURE YEAR '69" The Commi
administrative way - in agriculture, and
and citizens of prominence in their co
been working at top speed to ensure t
warrants. We wonder, though.

WHO FOOLING WHO

There is now a fierce crisis of con
workers at all levels, and more specifica
today, in whatever particular field he m
exploitation, and the conviction that
And because of this, he is viewing a
city, and of goodwill by Ministers of Go
A high incidence of this kind of re
areas that are less influenced by urban
District. This small village in teh sugar
circumstances which represents the 'tot
primarily, on the produce of his 'holding
But his problems revolve around
1) How do I assert myself to
an Association which I did not join vo
bership?
2) How to reconcile the differe
with that owned by the Company?
3) What benefits do I get from
tion to my total supply of cane?
4) What can I do about the ad
5) How should I interpret th
tion of modern and more efficient me
of sugar?
..... and a host of other questions
A general view of the farm prob
questions as well.
The farmer is unable to follow
Ministers of Government choose to
same area, and with a great deal mor
can speculate on the market far mo
small farmers dealing with cattle
Who's fooling who?.
Perhaps the farmer is entitled to
payments are determined; and sho
class, some co-operative effort sho
not only the Minister's cows could
As one farmer puts it :- 'What
five gallons of milk, that is good
else!"
Nor is it only the cane or dair
the pig-farmer, from Tamana to Ch
slow death of the small peasant
structured in the future? Will we
as happens in Puerto Rico or by
in Jamaica? Either way we lose

utlook have
e with the
ad, ABENG
JA STAR, a
nterprise in
, EMBRYO,
NATIONAL
e had this
REVIEW
n Staff As-
a similar
nonstrating
nate deter-
onfines of
to a new

st revolu-
ite simply
now feel
And they
is foolish
the West
r endure.
d the in-
rking like
and the

ese last
e works
ts own
rdition,
role by
ns in the
now no
lic wel-
ted in

refully
ect has
. Con-
gy and

y

igher
chess
over
t we
s are
ve to

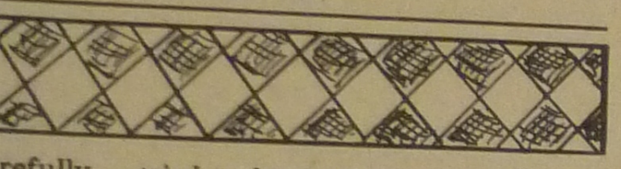
value
have

ose hold
ng feasts hold
over agricultural fairs.
Orange Grove and the National Oil
Company stand out as mocking
condemnationsof the attempt to
revolutionise the economy by the
means of non-revolutionary politics.
The ISA, an embarrassment to the
government every since its nakedly
political objectives were achieved,
provides a rich field for ever more
contradictions. The government,
self-sworn to uphold and maintain
this pernicious piece of legislation,
now appears to be in great haste to
amend it.

The business community, that
ever active partner of an accom-
modating government, undermines
the free enterprise ideology by which
it says it lives by screaming for
proteciton when the Jessels of this
world come to give it their due.

Finally, the whole conservative,
reactionary, unpatriotic host stands
aghast at the folly of the British
in revealing so nakedly in Anguilla
the brutal nature of the relation-
ship between themselves and us.
The notion that only men of mis-
chief and of ill-intent spoke of
imperialism, that only fools still
believed that the developed world
is exploiting us shamelessly and
that only idiots could believe that
foreign capital was not an unmixed
blessing is dying a deservedly swift
and quiet death.

The shoe is now on the other
foot. Wear it.



tried to be extremely scientific and
exact. Thus Staunton, one of the
earliest and best English players,
writing in 1847, offered the view
that the pawn was worth 1 unit,
the knight 3.05 units, the bishop
3,50 units, the rook 5.48 units and
the queen 9.94 units. Since then
this view has been somewhat sim-
plified and the notion current to-
day is that the pawn rates as 1 unit,
the knight and the bishop rates 3
units respectively, the rook rates 5
units and the queen rates 9 units.
The king is not given a rating since,
in the context of the game, he is
invaluable. When the king is lost
the game is lost.

It makes no sense then, except
in terms of overriding considerations
of position and strategy, to exch-
ange a rook for two pawns or a
queen for a knight. When you de-
liberately make such an exchange
you are said to be "sacrificing".
The main requirement then is that
you should know what you are
doing. There is nothing more em-
barrassing than the "sacrifice" that
fails. If you are "sacrificing" you
have to know what you are sacri-
ficing for. Only a fool does other-
wise. It is as simple as that.

(cont'd from p1)

hands with our black brothers ar-
ound the Third World, and all of us
together will tell the white man
"Where there is injustice there is
going to be no peace". If he wants
peace, tell him to give us justice,
for we are going to take it. We have
to take it because the white man is
incapable of condemning himself.
If the white man condemned him-
self then he would have to commit
suicide for what he nas done to the
world. And because he is incapable
of condemning himself, then we
must come together as black people
around the world and organise our-
selves to take care of the business
at hand.

We are not talking about peace,
we are talking about liberation.

MOKOJUMBIE

AGRICULTURE YEAR

Last yeat, The United Nations, acting u
year Human Rights year. What a joke it wa
ments on Human Rights in the recent history
This year has been declared Agriculture
to be a big joke? Like the government, MO
for the farmer. This is why MOKOJUMBIE
between the smooth television rhetoric of
confronts the small farmer in this country.

"AGRICULTURE YEAR '69" was fo
Eric Williams in a nation wide television-radi
In his address to the people of Trinidad
pains to explain the reasons which had mo
entous decision. It was envisaged that this
would have far-reaching effects and would
culture in this country. To this end, AGRIC
of the Ministry of Agriculture, Lands and F
ment's forces could be mobilized to ensure

In part, the Prime Minister reminded the
ment's rebuttal to the statements made by
ference on Unemployment on the importa
culture by forcibly and dramatically bringin
(MOKO advises its readers to read Mr. Wes
Government in the Express of Wednesday 23

In agreeing with the labour leader, the
high priority which Government attached
Year plan. He quoted the relevant statistics
future of Agriculture in this country and th
play in the national economy. He noted t
given a very large allocation of money, a
period. He compared this favourably with
earlier Five-Year Development Plan, which
firts plan and over $49 million in the second

The main objectives of this campaign,
tual reduction of the country's food bill
Trinidad abd Tobago cashing in on the int

A comprehensive programme aimed at
and output and aimed also at educating the
tion for achieving significant increases in th
agricultural sector has been planned and is
by the Minister of Agriculture, Lands an
gramme has been prepared and will be carri
Lands and Fisheries and the National Comm
powered committee, named by Governme
CULTURE YEAR '69" The Committee
administrative way - in agriculture, and incl
and citizens of prominence in their commu
been working at top speed to ensure that
warrants. We wonder, though.

WHO FOOLING WHO?

There is now a fierce crisis of confide
workers at all levels, and more specifically
today, in whatever particular field he migh
exploitation, and the conviction that injusti

And because of this, he is viewing as v
city, and of goodwill by Ministers of Goverm

A high incidence of this kind of rejecti
areas that are less influenced by urban con
District. This small village in teh sugar-belt
circumstances which represents the 'type'; a
primarily, on the produce of his 'holdings' fr

But his problems revolve around fi
1) How do I assert myself to the
an Association which I did not join volunta
membership?

2) How to reconcile the differenc
with that owned by the Company?

3) What benefits do I get from thi
tion to my total supply of cane?.

4) What can I do about the lack of
5) How should I interpret the Com
tion of modern and more efficient machin
of sugar?

..... and a host of other questions of

A general view of the farm project a
questions as well.

The farmer is unable to follow why
Ministers of Government choose to engage
same area, and with a great deal more land,
can speculate on the market far more accur
small farmers dealing with cattle is to se
Who's fooling who?.

Perhaps the farmer is entitled to a fu
payments are determined; and since - as i
class, some co-operative effort should be
not only the Minister's cows could produce

As one farmer puts it :- 'When they t
five gallons of milk, that is good theory, bu
else!"

Nor is it only the cane or dairy farme
the pig-farmer, from Tamana to Gasparill
slow death of the small peasant farmer?
structured in the future? Will we be contr
as happens in Puerto Rico or by a mixtu
in Jamaica? Either way we lose.

the suggestion of Jamaica, declared the
Last year saw some of the worst infringe-
Jamaica.
in Trinidad. Will this year too turn out
agrees that it is time something was done
w attempts in its two sections, a contrast
overnment, and the harsh situation that

y launched by the Prime Minister, Dr.
adcast on Sunday Feb. 23rd.
Tobago, the Prime Minister took great
d his Government to come to this mom-
sharply into focus all aspects of Agri-
URE YEAR '69 is not the concern solely
es, but wherever necessary, all Govern-
tstanding success for this unique venture.

on, Agriculture Year '69 was the Govern-
ge Weeks at the recent Trin-Partitite Con-
f creating a new consciousness of agri-
riculture to the attention of the people.
s much more devastating rebuttal of the
ril).

me Minister reiterated to the people the
griculture in its recent Draft Third Five
substantiate his Government's faith in the
ecognition of the central part it ought to
Agriculture, Lands and Fisheries had been
ximately $63 million over the five year
sums voted under the same head in the
ounted to a little over $4 million in the

ding to the Prime Minister was the even-
h was 'too high' and the possibility of
ional market for 'luxury tropical foods'.

ting the farmer to improve his efficiency
umer with the view to laying the founda-
el of production and consumption in the
dy in process. This was revealed recently
heries, Mr. Lonel Robinson. This pro-
ut, jointly by the Ministry of Agriculture,
e for Agriculture Year. This last is a high-
undertake the programme for "AGRI-
ists of persons actively involved - in an
agricultural officers, co-operative officials
It is understood that this Committee has
roject gains the success that it undeniably

evolving from the overwhemling cries of
e field of Agriculture. The small farmer
involved, is fed by a situation of hunger,
not a matter of fate.

all protestations of innocence, of simpli-
in this so-called 'Agriculture Year'.

found more especially in the Agricultural
ities. A pertinent example is the Lengua
uth Trinidad is over-weighted by a set of
a in which the small farmer is dependent,
rvival.

ractical answers for questions like:-
uction of a compulsory 'CESS' paid into
nd for which I have no evidence of mem-

he price paid me for my BURNT CANE

ulsory cess which is deducted in propor-

ies for weighing and depositing my crop?
's statement that, in spite of the installa-
ore cane is now needed to produce a ton

nature.

er Field provides all sorts of disturbing

ndertaking must be cattle-rearing while
elves in extensive poultry-farming in the
by virtue of their office, these Ministers
then it seems that their insistence on the
rd their own poultry- farming industry?

planation on milk-rating from which his
he case the bulk of his supply is rated C-
o help him improve his grade. After all,
s milk, you know.

about the figurative cow giving four and
you meet the 'actual' cow, is something

s feeling the squeeze. The cocoa farmer,
ate teh same tale. Are we witnessing the
how will our agricultural economy be
y foreign monopolists like Tate and Lyle
al and foreign monopolists as is the case

Bus Strik

(contd from p1)

interest before anything else. For
its own survival it must if necessary
bring the economy to a standstill
in order to get its rights and gain its
interests. The Act is frustrating
the aspirations of the working class
and the development of Trade
Unionism. The ISA MUST GO.

TIWU's STAND

The stand of the TIWU is clear
and precise. The bus workers would
fight to the end. The leadership
not only support the workers but
will go to jail and shed blood if
necessary in defence of the workers
At a public meeting in Port of
Spain on Tuesday, April 22nd
Mr. Nunez, the organising secretary
of the TIWU put the union's stand
very bluntly. He said that the
leadership and membership stand
together and will fight together.
It's victory or death. The position
is clear. Either government recoils
or we will face a social and political
crisis the result of which would
determine the future direction of
this country.

POLITICS AND THE
WORKING CLASS

We in this country are fast app-
roaching a national crisis. The peo-
ple are frustrated and are becoming
restless. Government and busine
have fused into one force. The pe
ple with the working class in th
lead forms the other social forc

A social explosion is on th
horizons. The established ord
will use the most brutal means
keep power in its own econom
and political interests. The on
class that can lead the nation
such a terrific confrontation is
working class. This it can do
cause it is the only organised so
force in the society at present.
it must know this. The work
class, united disciplined and org
ised by the very mechanics of
labour process, is the only la
body of people that can show
the population at large a high
gree of unity and cohesiveness
set an example by their form
organisation and descipline.

The bus workers have begun
struggle. What is required no
the unity of the working class.
working class must know that
future of this country depend
what it does in the crisis that is
roaching. It must formulate it
mands and its perspectives in
precise and unambiguous te
The nation as a whole must se
find what it wants NOW. LAB
WILL EITHER SHOW THE
TION THE WAY NOW OR
MAY BE CRUSHED UNDE
BRUTAL DICTATORSHIP
DECADES TO COME. SUC
THE PRESENT SITUATION.

SANS HUMANITE

(cont'd from p4)

crowd booed the government for
not inviting Norman Manley to
speak. The Honourable Eddie
Seaga was reported to have threat-
ened the crowd in terms which
would have been regarded as sedi-
tious had anyone else used them.

"I can bring the crowd of West
Kingston (his Constituency) to deal
with you at any time ....When the
day comes to match hand with hand,
and fists with fists in any struggle
with any of you, I will be standing
toe to toe with all of you. It will
be fire with fire, blood with blood
and thunder with thunder" (Public
Opinion 29/10/65)

Here, then, was the concept of
law and order being attacked from
the very top - Since that speech,
violence in Jamaica has become
increasingly more organized along
party lines, and poor black Jamai-
cans have been shooting each other
down in gangs, and negating the
common protest which lies behind
their actions.

****

1966 started in a most un-
promising fashion. In February,
the Government began bull-dozing
the shanties along Marcus Garvey
Drive without making any provision
for the displaced black people. Later
it was Paine Avenue, and Industrial
Terrace. Altogether about 3,000
people lost their homes. They were
called "squatters". One "Daily
Gleaner" columnist suggested that
they should go and do the work
which was waiting for them on
farms. No mercy was shown

Some of the dispossessed, rightly
interpreting the symbolism of the
government's action, pitched camp
among the graves of May Pen
cemetry. There was nowhere else
to go. The government sent out
social workers, armed with words,
then firemen with hoses, and police-
men and soldiers with guns to drive
blacks even from the cemetry. The
catalogue of government-instituted
and publicly-condoned misery is a
long and heart-breaking one.

In October 1966 offensive
pons were found in the West
ton office of both parties. I
marizing 1966 Frank Hill

"In the wake of the little na
elections, the rival gangs
political sides, brought a
dimension of violence into p
organization with molotov
tails, dynamite, ratchet,
revolvers and barbed-wire w

The government declared a
of Emergency in West Kingst
carried out an intensive sear
arms. The only caches o
found were at the headquar
both parties. At the sam
minor acts of reform unfulfi
to now) were promised – a h
complex with a Youth Cen
institute of craft.

JOE YOUNG SPEAKS

Printed below is the content
interview our MOKO corresp
had with Mr. JOE YOUNG
dent-General of the TIWU.

"The present crisis in
service has taken place beca
industrial court has impos
imposibility of trying to u
machinery to regulate indus
lations. Legal machinery co
truly understand the intrica
human relations in industry.
relations is something very f
legality is inflexible.

"I am not against the p
of labour laws as I am not
the principle of any law dire
the benefit of people in a
But when the labour law,
now have, has the effect
trating workers' aspirations
tarding the development
Trade Union Movement, I
inst it.

On the question of th
branch groups' call for amen
but not repeal, of the IS
YOUNG said: "It is she

Bus Strike

(contd from p1)

interest before anything else. For its own survival it must if necessary bring the economy to a standstill in order to get its rights and gain its interests." The Act is frustrating the aspirations of the working class and the development of Trade Unionism. The ISA MUST GO.

TIWU's STAND

The stand of the TIWU is clear and precise. The bus workers would fight to the end. The leadership not only support the workers but will go to jail and shed blood if necessary in defence of the workers At a public meeting in Port of Spain on Tuesday, April 22nd Mr. Nunez, the organising secretary of the TIWU put the union's stand very bluntly. He said that the leadership and membership stand together and will fight together. It's victory or death. The position is clear. Either government recoils or we will face a social and political crisis the result of which would determine the future direction of this country.

POLITICS AND THE WORKING CLASS

We in this country are fast approaching a national crisis. The people are frustrated and are becoming restless. Government and business have fused into one force. The people with the working class in the lead forms the other social force.

A social explosion is on the horizons. The established order will use the most brutal means to keep power in its own economic and political interests. The only class that can lead the nation in such a terrific confrontation is the working class. This it can do because it is the only organised social force in the society at present. And it must know this. The working class, united disciplined and organised by the very mechanics of the labour process, is the only large body of people that can show to the population at large a high degree of unity and cohesiveness and set an example by their forms of organisation and discipline.

The bus workers have begun the struggle. What is required now is the unity of the working class. The working class must know that the future of this country depends on what it does in the crisis that is approaching. It must formulate its demands and its perspectives in clear, precise and unambiguous terms. The nation as a whole must seek to find what it wants NOW. LABOUR WILL EITHER SHOW THE NATION THE WAY NOW OR WE MAY BE CRUSHED UNDER A BRUTAL DICTATORSHIP FOR DECADES TO COME. SUCH IS THE PRESENT SITUATION.

SANS HUMANITE

(cont'd from p4)

crowd booed the government for not inviting Norman Manley to speak. The Honourable Eddie Seaga was reported to have threatened the crowd in terms which would have been regarded as seditious had anyone else used them.

"I can bring the crowd of West Kingston (his Constituency) to deal with you at any time ....When the day comes to match hand with hand, and fists with fists in any struggle with any of you, I will be standing toe to toe with all of you. It will be fire with fire, blood with blood and thunder with thunder" (Public Opinion 29/10/65)

Here, then, was the concept of law and order being attacked from the very top - Since that speech, violence in Jamaica has become increasingly more organized along party lines, and poor black Jamaicans have been shooting each other down in gangs, and negating the common protest which lies behind their actions.

****

1966 started in a most unpromising fashion. In February, the Government began bull-dozing the shanties along Marcus Garvey Drive without making any provision for the displaced black people. Later it was Paine Avenue, and Industrial Terrace. Altogether about 3,000 people lost their homes. They were called "squatters". One "Daily Gleaner" columnist suggested that they should go and do the work which was waiting for them on farms. No mercy was shown

Some of the dispossessed, rightly interpreting the symbolism of the government's action, pitched camp among the graves of May Pen cemetry. There was nowhere else to go. The government sent out social workers, armed with words, then firemen with hoses, and policemen and soldiers with guns to drive blacks even from the cemetry. The catalogue of government-instituted and publicly-condoned misery is a long and heart-breaking one.

In October 1966 offensive weapons were found in the West Kingston office of both parties. In summarizing 1966 Frank Hill wrote

"In the wake of the little national elections, the rival gangs chose political sides, brought a new dimension of violence into political organization with molotov cocktails, dynamite, ratchet, knives, revolvers and barbed-wire whips."

The government declared a State of Emergency in West Kingston and carried out an intensive search for arms. The only caches of arms found were at the headquarters of both parties. At the same time minor acts of reform unfulfilled up to now) were promised – a housing complex with a Youth Centre, an institute of craft.

JOE YOUNG SPEAKS

Printed below is the contents of an interview our MOKO correspondent had with Mr. JOE YOUNG, President-General of the TIWU.

"The present crisis in the bus service has taken place because the industrial court has imposed the imposibility of trying to use legal machinery to regulate industrial relations. Legal machinery could not truly understand the intricacies of human relations in industry. Human relations is something very flexible; legality is inflexible.

"I am not against the principle of labour laws as I am not against the principle of any law directed to the benefit of people in a society. But when the labour law, as we now have, has the effect of frustrating workers' aspirations and retarding the development of the Trade Union Movement, I am against it.

On the question of the PNM branch groups' call for amendment, but not repeal, of the ISA, Mr. YOUNG said: "It is sheer politicking by the party in power. The people who have been agitating in the party groups do not have the slightest incline of the practical working of the Act. They were directed from the top."

In answer to the criticism levelled at the Bus workers that the public, particularly school children, suffers a great deal as a result of the strike, Mr. YOUNG said. To say that workers should not struggle because school children would be dislocated is very purile."

"The very school children today would be proud of the cause for which the workers are struggling. It is likely that some of these very school children would be employed in the transport and other industries in the future. One of the reasons for struggles like this one is to ensure that when these children come into the industry they would not be subjected to such low wages and bad conditions as the present bus workers are being subjected to."

CALL THAT GEORGE

by moko

Happy fortnight, fellow-citizens of Trinidad and Tobago. Today we will examine the concept of grand-change. Grand-charge may may be defined as the making of a big show about an issue and doing nothing about it. An elaborate and deliberately melodramatic form of bluff . . . Like the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry which never report (By the way, whatever happened to the University Commission on the Michener Affair? We hear that the Chairman resigned after he realized the absurdity of the thing).

****

Or there was the Deputy Premier's speech exhorting Public servants to speak out what they know about corruption. "I give you my assurance that vou will not be treated like Gene Miles" . . . That was a mild grand-charge.

****

Grand charge at its most beautiful, is the highest art of the politician, the trickster. Brer Anancy, the weaver of words. For example, a Commission of Enquiry is appointed to look into the disappearance of eggs from the National Poultry Farm. It discovers that a top employee has been working bubol. The Director of Hens who wants to sack the fellow anyway because he is a rival, pressurizes him into resigning. But the Party members don't like this and tell the Director of Hens this. So he re-appoints the official as comptroller of the Dairies, then grand-charge the confused people. "I say he must return, I am the boss . . . Who don't like it get to hell" That was a very nice grand-charge to cover-up the compromise which the Director had to make with the other members of the roost. Next step? Promote the employee out of existence. Make him High Commissioner of Timbuctoo for life . . .Beautiful . . .

****

The other day, too, there was the slightly unsubtle grand-charge which the Premier of Rupununi made, when he disclosed a Castroite plot to subvert Guyana . . . That was good for a laugh. A much better grand-charge has been his declared intention of establishing a "Co-operative Republic". What on earth could the words possibly mean? Like Associate Statehood, they mean nothing. The art of grand-charge is to seem to mean something. Sometimes the performance is good, at other times not so good.

Some of the most sophisticated forms of grand-charge are to be found among the suffering poor. The motor-mechanic, for example, who cusses you for doubting his integrity after he has deliberately done a bad job. Or the man whom you helped. He owes you plenty money but won't pay. His first step is to say that you hounding him down for a few cents. Next step is to deny that he owes you money at all . . . Final stage "Look,if you don't stop molesting me, ah gon buss you face" . . . Grand-charge at its best. Permeating the society at every level. Not one righteous man. Not one. Remember the story of Lot? You think they could find ten just men among us, fellow-citizens of Trinidad? Even if it was a matter of burning or not burning the city? you really think so?

PLACE: corner of Duke and Abercromby streets. The PERSON: one of the best mechanics in Trinidad. He said that he can't get a job. His last job was with Lock Joint.

Our mechanic said: The old colonial days were much better than now. At least bones used to shake the branches and some leaves used to fall in our pockets, although he took all the fruits. Since Williams take over, fruits, leaves, branches, tree-trunks, everything go in the big boys pockets. Nothing comes to us, the poor people. I haven't paid my rent for three months now. If they bring-me-up I am going to tell the magistrate as it is. Where the hell they want me to get money to pay. Man, we have to get rid of all of them thieves. Anybody planning to throw them out, count me in. As far as I am concerned All fall down Now.

Corruption at the top. Frustration and hate at the bottom. All really fall down. Is that the general feeling in the country?
C.T.G.!!!

Happy Fortnight

****

MOKOJUMBIE

P.S. The Fathers of the Holy Ghost plan to open a Private Secondary School in Diego Martin - St. Anthony's - 300 Dollars a term - More than the Tobago Golf Gourse membership fees - Only noble savages need apply . . .

AMEN.

FORTHCOMING ISSUES

In the next issue MOKO will be hitting and hitting hard. MOKO will be dealing with some of the burning issues of today. Here are a few:

Joe Young on the ISA - the first part of a series on the ISA.

The Working-Class, Trade Unionism and politics by J. C. Mc Henry.

On Agriculture in Cuba

Willie Bayne speaks out on Education

Gordon Rholer on Rock Steady and Jamaican music.

Get your copy of the next issue of MOKO. Are you a worker, are you a farmer, are you a teacher, are you a student? MOKO will be speaking out on issues that concern you. Buy MOKO, read MOKO, write to MOKO on these issues. MOKO is the only paper that will print your view.

MOKO

A Serious Review

No. 13
Price 10c

KING SUGAR AND US.

by Earl Lewis

If talk was an indication of activity the agriculturists of this nation would be happy, fat rich people. Unfortunately the applied sciences demand application, not talk, as the only means of obtaining results. We appear to have taken the ultimate step in the direction of talk and have declared this year: Agricultural Year:

I say a fervent prayer on behalf of the farmers and unemployed, that the authorities will in some way marry application to talk. This is my position, and from this position I want to comment on an agricultural problem which in a very fundamental way is like an iceberg in that what we see of it is only a small part of what it really is. I am referring to Caroni's request for the Montserrat hills. I suppose that one would be sorely tempted to rush forward with superficial economic arguments about annual returns and the like. I take the arguments, however, from my stand on this issue. I see Caroni dominating the agricultural scene, and more, the lives of a substantial number of families in a way which makes slavery and indenture something more of the present than the past.

Their single crop (cane) has distorted and submerged any chance of change on the agricultural scene. This is as it must be. This foreign owned and oriented Caroni is to the nth degree concerned solely with providing sugar for their metropolitan owners. I want to stress that they are not concerned with doing good agricultural business in the interest of Trinidad and Tobago. They are concerned with growing sugar, regardless of our interest.

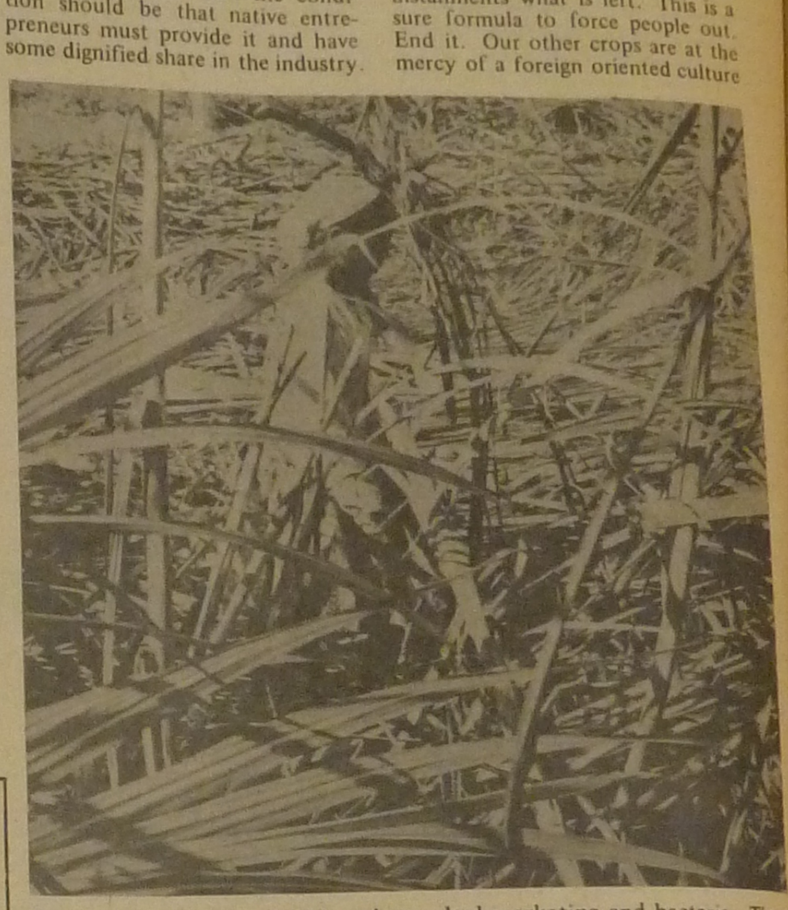
When King sugar called in the past human values were prostituted, men traded in men, men were rooted from their families and herritage in a most barbarous way, all to satisfy the call of "King Sugar". It was so then, after four hundred years must King Sugar call again with the same result in new dress?

The wealth of our agricultural experience is Caroni's, soil, weather, drainage. all of it belongs to Caroni What have they done with it, this rich experinece? They grow canes. If this rich experience was in the posession of a locally owned or oriented concern I am sure that on economic grounds alone diversification would have been firm policy. Instead Caroni continues to pursue their single crop with vigour and expansionist eyes. At the same time reducing the ratio of activity of the local agricultural entrepreneur in sugar. Futher they seem bent on continuing the slave indenture tradition of "come work for massa". Their respect for our sensibilities is so absent, that they can't even find a variation on the theme

Because of their inherrited dominance they have become large scale land speculators. They have been selling our greatest static asset at a high industrial price and buying it at low agricultural market value. Very good business indeed but in whose interest? Money is made in the process but for whom? You can be sure that it is for their foreign owners. It is my view that if there is to be speculation in land the appreciation in value must accrue to nationals or the nation, not one cent of it must go to any foreign owner.

If the world market for sugar holds any prospects, then the natives must have a bigger share in the industry and the prospects Caroni has the factory capacity, if they need more canes then the condition should be that native entrepreneurs must provide it and have some dignified share in the industry.

On the other hand if the feeling is that in the overall national interest cocoa must remain as an alternative crop. We must take cocoa out of the hands of local agents who sell willy nilly at any price offered deduct their various expenses - cost of toilet paper and the like - then give to the farmer on installments what is left. This is a sure formula to force people out. End it. Our other crops are at the mercy of a foreign oriented culture



This is the only policy which makes sense on the Montserrat hills in Agricultural Year. If Caroni want canes I'll say, Yes, but not Caroni grown. The time is now, a break must be made from the slave indenture pattern to one of national interest and dignity.

I take it that the owners on the hills might be willing to sell and this could well be due to the hopeless situation which the worlds pricing systems loaded in favour of the metropolis have placed the farmers in the third world.

The Government must devise means such as giving a conversion grant to farmers and firm contracts for the sale of all the canes they grow.

bad marketing and bacteria. There is little or no processing or protective storage for most of our promising produce. We have pigs we can't sell but import sausages of all types, and bacon at expensive rates. A policy is needed; one in the interest of nation and national. The present nonsense must stop.

The continuance only allows Caroni, like a vulture, to grow fatter on the carcasses of what is left. What ills does the future hold for us if bride kissing becomes more important than farming?

The policy recommended here for the Montserrat Hills and Caroni is the only one decent nationalist could accept. We expect the Government to take note for we have

SANS HUMANITE

Violence in Jamaica

by a Correspondent

Jamaica is today caught up in a wave of violent crime. A glance at the "Annual Abstract of Statistics" shows that the situation today has been the result of a steady deterioration in respect of Law and Order during the sixties. Between 1962 and 1963 there were 66 murders, 7,274 cases of wounding, and 238 sexual offences, as compared with 111 murders, 9,125 cases of wounding and 351 sexual offences between 1966 and 1967. Over the last two years, the situation has grown worse. More and more youths are involved in violent crime; the police are a frightened and demoralized body of men whose sole trust is in their guns and batons, and the owners of those splendid houses on the hill are beginning to realize that bigger and more savage watch-dogs and stronger burglar bars are insufficient deterrent to men prepared to shoot their way into homes.

This disrespect for law and order is the direct result of a relentless erosion of the human rights of poor black people in Jamaica, and the failure of both government and opposition to face up to problems of hunger, illiteracy and unemployment in the country. Successive Jamaican governments have encouraged the mass emigration of blacks to cold white countries where they would at least be better paid for being irrelevant. Thus the number of Jamaicans emigrating to England alone rose from 1300 in the early 50's to 18,000 in the mid-fifties. This number dropped to an average of 11,500 in the late 50's then escalated to 32,000 in 1960, 39,000 in 1961 and 22,841 in 1962. 1963 witnessed a sharp decrease to 7,500 and Mr. Wilson's Immigration Bill, originally designed for the specific purpose of keeping the Cliffs of Dover white, has probably further reduced emigration of Jamaicans to Britain.

****

One could well understand the panic with which both Norman Manley & Donald Sangster hastened to England to beg her to allow more Jamaicans entry. Having made no attempt to alter the economic structure of the country in the direction of diversification in agriculture and the establishment of industries relevant to the needs of Jamaica, their only recourse was to export their labour problems - to perpetuate the slave trade.

Their fears have been justified. Several thousands of Jamaicans who might have emigrated to Britain are now forced to remain home. This means that a vibrant youthful section of the community one-third of whom are illiterate, but most of whom are unprepared to accept their condition as unalterable, are deprived of the opportunity to do better. The situation is explosive, especially in a country with a tradition of violent protest.

More disturbing than this negative approach to Jamaica's social and economic problems, has been the very positive erosion of the human rights of her people. Defined as "hooligans", Rastafarians, "rudies", or "squatters", poor people in Jamaica have become the scapegoats of the privileged classes and their overseers in the Government. 1965 began with debates on hooliganism, and harsher penalties for rape were approved by the Minister. This has not stopped the increase in rape, or other crimes of violence.

In September of 1965 youths in West Kingston converted an isolated incident in which a Chinese baker was alleged to have assaulted a black female employee, into open racial warfare. Several Chinese were beaten, many of their business places stoned and set on fire. What was significant about those riots was their spontaneity. The youth in West Kingston had clearly been identifying the Chinese element – owners of groceries and supermarkets - as their most immediate oppressors. They too, like the monied citizens, had begun to identify the enemy and create definite scapegoats.

Worse was to come. In October 1965 on the occasion of the unveiling of the Gordon and Bogle Monument at George VI Park, the

(cont'd on p3)

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Please enrol me as a subscriber to MOKO

I enclose : $2.60 for a regular year's supply
$5.00 for a regular two year supply
$12.00 for a regular five year supply

NAME:.....
(Block letters please)

ADDRESS:.....
(block letters please)
.....
.....
.....
Signature.

N.B. Past issues may be obtained on request ; send this form to :-
MOKO Newspapers P.O. Box 1327
Port of Spain, TRINIDAD

Printed by the Vanguard Publishing Company Ltd., 4a Lower Hillside Street, San Fernando, for the publishers James Millette and Gordon Rohlehr. Enquiries to P.O. Box 1327, Port of Spain